

Information Digest



Special Price for Sale at Meetings 9d.

NO. 11

CONTENTS

OCTOBER 1953

	PAGE
A. SOUTH AFRICA	
1. The new law	1
2. African comment on Apartheid	2
3. Protest by the Archbishop	2
4. Attitude of International Theologians on Apartheid	2
5. Departure of Rev. M. Scott for U.N.	3
6. British Press on South Africa	3
7. Coloured Political Party formed	4
B. HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES	
1. High Commissioner's Review of development	4
2. Dr. Malan repeats his claims	5
3. Manifesto by the Basutoland African Congress	5
C. CENTRAL AFRICA	
1. The University	6
2. Policies of the Political Parties	6
3. Central African Asian Conference	7
4. Nyasaland - London Comment on the recent disturbances	8
Nyasaland Chiefs' Union	9
Constitutional Reforms proposed by Chiefs Congress and people	11
5. Northern Rhodesia	13
D. EAST AFRICA	
1. Kenya	14
2. Tanganyika	15
E. WEST AFRICA	
1. Nigeria	17
F. GENERAL	
1. Moral Rearmament	18
2. African Railway Project	18
G. ADDENDUM - CENTRAL AFRICA	
Dissolution of the Progressive Party	19

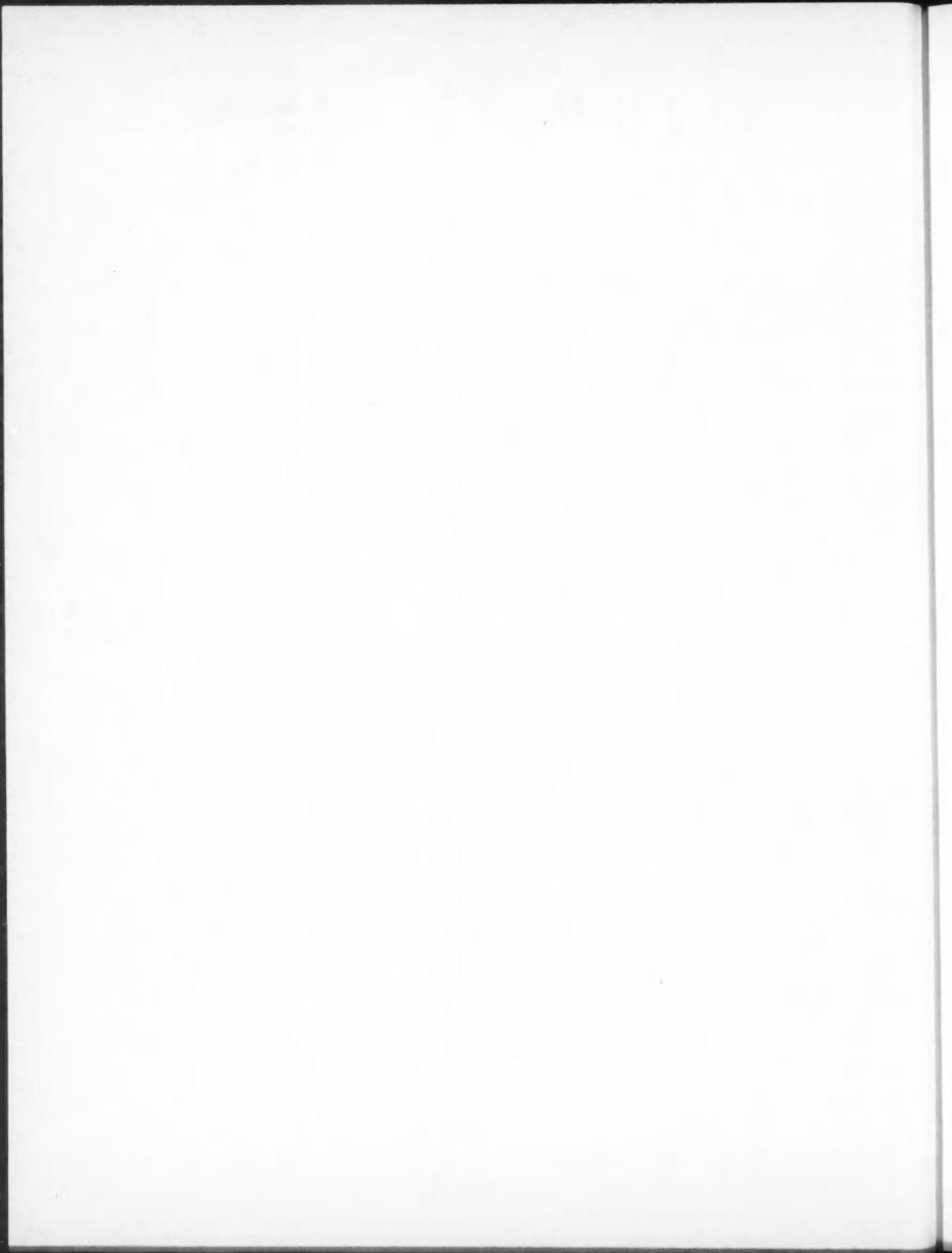
Note: A limited number of copies of a Supplement - "Background to the disturbances in Nyasaland" by Colin Legum are available to those with especial interest in this subject.

Published by THE AFRICA BUREAU
69 GREAT PETER STREET
LONDON S.W.1 (Abbey 4946)

Honorary Presidents: MISS MARY ATTLEE, THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL JOHN BAILLIE, SIR MAURICE BOWRA, JAMES CRAWFORD, THE RT. HON. ISAAC FOOT, PROFESSOR ARTHUR LEWIS, MISS VIOLET MARKHAM, THEREV. PROF. C. E. RAVEN, THEREV. DR. W. E. SANGSTER

Executive Committee: LORD HEMINGFORD (Chairman), LADY PAKENHAM, THE RT. HON. A. CREECH JONES, JOHN H. MACCALLUM SCOTT, THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

Secretary: MISS MARY BENSON.



A. SOUTH AFRICA

I. The New Laws

Bantu Education Bill

DR. VERWOERD, Minister of Native Affairs, introducing the Bantu Education Bill in the House of Assembly, said that when he had control of Native education he would reform it so that Natives would be "taught from childhood" to realise that equality with Europeans was not for them. Native education would be taken out of the hands of people who instilled false expectations into the Bantu. People who believed in equality were not desirable teachers for Natives.

Native education would be prevented from conflicting with State policy, which was towards racial development. It would discourage the educated Native from thinking of himself as a member of a "broader community" and would teach him to think of himself as a member of the Bantu community, which he would be trained specifically to serve. (*The Star*, Johannesburg, September 18, 1953).

THE BISHOP OF JOHANNESBURG, THE Rt. REV. AMBROSE REEVES said this Bill aimed at bringing to an end the educational work in which the churches have been engaged for so long. He asked: "Do we really believe that, contrary to all educational practice for centuries now, the education best suited for Africans is that which will so condition them, irrespective of their ability or potentiality, that they will accept their permanent inequality to Europeans, and that they will desire no place in any community broader than Bantu society? It is certainly most disturbing that a responsible Minister should assert that African education must be controlled so that it follows the traditions and directions of the State". (*Rand Daily Mail*, September 9, 1953).

Commenting on the statements that the mission schools were to be gradually abolished, *The Rand Daily Mail* (September 9, 1953) said: "The facts are that if it were not for the mission schools, there would be very little Native education in South Africa. As it is there are thousands of Native children on the outskirts of Johannesburg who are growing up without any education whatever.

Native Labour Bill

The South African Minister of Labour MR. SCHOEMAN, has stated that "under the new Native Labour Bill, no native, man or woman, would be allowed to belong to any registered trade union." He was making other arrangements for native workers. Mixed unions of Europeans and Coloured persons (persons of mixed descent) presented a greater problem. The new Industrial Conciliation Bill would make provision for their separation. . . On the question of native operators in industry he said that the only way out appeared to be for the Minister to be given power to prescribe by proclamation that only certain types of work should be done by certain racial groups. That was under consideration and might possibly be included in the Industrial Conciliation Bill. (*The Times*, September 24, 1953)

The unanimous decision of delegates to the South African Trades and Labour Council to lodge a complaint with the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation if the Government's Native Labour Bill becomes law, reflects the fears of trade unionists that this is the first step in plans to abolish the Western system of collective bargaining and to replace it by a Government labour board. (*The Observer*, August 23, 1953)

Power to Close Native Churches

MR. JOHN COPE, United Party Member for Parktown (Johannesburg) has tabled questions in Parliament on the new conditions, which give the Minister absolute power to close a church without compensation if he does not like the view of the preacher - or his sermons. A typical clause in the new form of the lease says the Minister may have a lease cancelled without compensation if, in his opinion, "any activities conducted therein are such as to

encourage or tend to encourage deterioration in the relationship between Natives and the Government, or governmental persons or bodies or the lessor". (*Rand Daily Mail*, August 20, 1953)

Control of Meetings in Native Areas

A new proclamation issued in Pretoria on September 17th 1953 controls meetings, gatherings and assemblies in Native areas.

The proclamation states that no person, without the permission of the chief or headman appointed by the Department of Native Affairs, and without the approval in writing of the Native commissioner, or where there is no Native commissioner, of the magistrate in the particular areas, may address, hold or preside at any gathering at which more than ten Natives are present, or allow a meeting to be held in his kraal or house or on his land.

The regulations will not apply if a gathering is for a bona fide religious service or funeral or held in connection with the domestic affairs of a kraal or household. They will also not affect members of a statutory body, if a gathering is held exclusively for the purpose of transacting any business of that body. It will also not be an offence if a gathering is held for purposes of instruction imparted under any law; if it is a bona fide sports gathering, concert or entertainment or a wedding; or if it is held for administrative purposes or is held by any Senator, Member of Parliament or member of a Provincial Council.

Anyone found guilty of contravening the regulations may be sentenced to a fine of £300, or three years' imprisonment. (*The Star* September 18, 1953)

2. African Comment on Apartheid

The Bantu paper *Ilanga Lase Natal* (August 29, 1953) said, regarding the effect of apartheid on the Europeans of the Union, "one of the disadvantages of the policy of apartheid is that it lowers values and standards and leads to the distortion of ideas. In this process the European is as much affected as the non-European. Perhaps more. For it is he who is called upon to fight against his conscience and to accept different sets of values in order to maintain this policy". Mentioning the banning of certain scientific books for fear lest they fall into non-European hands, the paper said: "To keep the non-European in his place, the European must remain on the lower rung with him."

3. Protest by the Archbishop

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend G. H. CLAYTON, in a letter to his diocese protesting against the 'namings' under the Suppression of Communism Act, said: "The policy of the Nationalist Government is likely in the long run to spread Communism in South Africa. . . All those who care for freedom and all those who care for South Africa must be gravely concerned at the large number of people who have been 'named' by the Minister of Justice, and the list seems to grow almost daily. . . I should deplore it if all people who were named really were Communists. But no member of the general public has, or can have, any evidence that that is so." The Archbishop said it was the duty of the church to raise her voice if there was a prospect of an injustice being done. (*Pretoria News*, September 1953)

4. Attitude of International Theologians on Apartheid

As the result of a questionnaire sent out by Dr. BEN J. MARAIS, of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, a remarkable consensus of opinion is reported by *The (South African) Christian Council Quarterly* (August, 1953). The following are some of the questions and replies:-

To the question "Do you believe that the Bible gives justification or leaves scope for a policy of enforced racial segregation within the Christian Church?" the general answer is "no". Prof. BERKHOFF (Kerk en Wereld Institute, Driebergen) adds: "That is a sin". Prof. BERKELBACH v.d. SPRENKEL (Utrecht) says: "The Bible gives a clear judgment against racial segregation. The white Church or white congregation praying: 'Come Lord Jesus' will remember that Jesus himself was coloured and did not change his skin in the ascension, so far as I know."

On the question "A policy of enforced racial segregation within the Christian Church can be justified on the ground that God willed separate races and nations. . . and therefore racial segregation (even within the Christian Church) so as to keep races intact, is not only permissible but a Christian duty." Do you agree to this statement? PROF. BARTH replies: "No! Nazi-Theology", and PROF. EMIL BRUNNER (Zurich) shows that "the question of race is a modern concept not to be found in Scripture". . . PROF. DAHL of Norway says "The statement implies a denial of the very essence of the Church".

5. Departure of Rev. M. Scott for the United Nations

Before the Rev. Michael Scott left to attend meetings of the United Nations as an observer for the International League for the Rights of Man, he spoke of the world outside Africa having an increasingly important part to play "as the crisis develops in the Union."

Many people of all communities in South Africa were sickened, he said, by the part their country was made to play. The courage of those in South Africa who opposed oppression was more valuable than anything that could be done outside, but the part of the outside world would increase in importance.

Mr. Scott also published a letter he had written earlier this month to the chairman of the United Nations commission on the racial situation in South Africa. In this he said:

"In determining its policy towards the highly dangerous situation in Africa created by the South African state, serious consideration should be given by the United Nations to the needs for encouraging those among the White and the non-European peoples who are the victims of an increasingly highly organised State system of discrimination.

"The specialised agencies of the United Nations should prepare a co-ordinated programme of technical and financial assistance which could be offered to the people and Government of South Africa subject to the principles of the Charter." (The Manchester Guardian, October 12, 1953)

6. British Press on South Africa

DOUGLAS BROWN, writing in *The Daily Telegraph* (September 22, 1953) commented on the lack of realism behind all the 'apartheid legislation' of the present Government. He said: "The Group Areas Act, though quite inhuman in its proposed operation will achieve little more for residential segregation than does the natural law of the estate market. The Mixed Marriages Act, while creating a number of hard cases, wrestles with a largely imaginary problem. . . .

"In the meantime the integration of the native into the urban economy of South Africa continues relentlessly, undermining every day a little more of the necessary foundations of apartheid. The industrialisation of South Africa is, in fact, being effected sometimes illegally and always in opposition to the spirit of the Government's laws. Natives are surreptitiously learning the skills that are supposed to be the prerogative of white workers, and are surreptitiously being paid higher wages on that account. Employers are negotiating with native trade unions that the Government refuses to recognise. Essential native workers are living illegally, and squalidly, in the towns, largely because the authorities cannot face the implications of accepting them as part of a settled urban

society. . . . to the urban natives. . . (apartheid) means artificially low rates of wages, inadequate housing or none at all, the break-up of family life and the tyranny of the pass laws. To the growing number of educated natives it means much more - the consciousness of permanent exclusion from all but the crudest benefits of Western civilisation; the consciousness that they will never take part in national politics, or be admitted to the Italian opera, or see the latest films; that they will never sit at the white man's table, will never use their education for the service of the community as a whole. There is a finality about these deprivations which transcends individual loss. It is the whole race that is condemned, apparently for all time."

7. Coloured Political Party Formed

The *Cape Times* (September 14, 1953) reported that delegates to a convention of Coloured representatives in Salt River decided to establish the South African Coloured People's Organisation aiming at full "democratic rights for all the people of South Africa in political, social, economic and cultural life." DR. R. E. VAN DER ROSS, organiser of the convention, said he hoped that departments, which the meeting decided to establish to work for the upliftment of the people in the economic, social, educational and political spheres, would eventually form a Coloured Chamber of Commerce to register the various trades and to co-ordinate the resources of coloured businessmen. MR. E. A. DEANE, who presided, said that if any European wished to join the organisation, "I do not think we would tell him he could not."

B. THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

I. High Commissioner's Review of Development

SIR JOHN LE RONGETEL High Commissioner in South Africa for the United Kingdom, reviewed the development of the Protectorates in an address to the Annual Congress of the Natal Agricultural Union at Pietermaritzburg. He said. "As this development proceeds, I shall certainly make it my concern as long as I am in South Africa, to do anything I can to ensure that it is co-ordinated with yours, for I am quite convinced that only such a policy will be to our mutual advantage. . . ."

In a few years Swaziland with its population of only 200,000, had leapt from the position of a small, distant, isolated community to one in which the problem was how to keep development within reasonable bounds. In 1950 she had been unable to balance her budget without assistance from the United Kingdom but now she had a surplus which by next year should reach £380,000. . . . The production of the Havelock Asbestos mine was now valued at 2½ million pounds a year. . . and Swaziland would soon have two of the largest pine forests in South Africa.

Agricultural production in Swaziland now included crops such as New Zealand flax, tung oil, bananas, pine-apples, rice, sugar, cotton, citrus, soya beans, ground nuts, and vegetables for the Rand market. Former bushveld in north east Swaziland had irrigated fields which were producing two crops a year of some of the finest white rice he had seen.

Basutoland, by its rugged conformation and severe climate, had a sterner task, but there, too, notable progress had been made in recent years, particularly in soil conservation. The greater part of the rich pastures and sponges which comprised seven-eighths of Basutoland had now recovered from the terrible effects of over-grazing. The co-operation of tribal authorities in soil conservation work had increased now that results could be seen.

The prospect of big supplies of cheap hydro-electric power from the damming of the Orange River is of major importance not only to Basutoland, whose agricultural economy might be revolutionised as a result, but also to the Union, where there is a crying need for power to meet the demands of mines and the rapidly expanding secondary industries.

An experimental project envisages mechanisation of farming, which would release labour for industry, and specifies rural developments, which include fruit drying and canning and meat canning - industries which need power.

Another possibility is a textile industry using Basutoland wool, which has greatly improved in quality in recent years. (South Africa, September 12, 1953).

2. Dr. Malan Repeats his Claims

DR. MALAN reverted to the question of the Protectorates in a speech in the Senate. He repeated what he had said earlier in the Assembly, that he hoped the incorporation of the Protectorates in the Union would be completed within the next five years. When it was considered what had already been done and how long it had taken, the matter could not be left there any longer. He hoped that the large amount of money which, he believed, was being spent in the Protectorates did not mean that England was digging herself in in the territories. (South Africa, September 12, 1953)

3. Manifesto by the Basutoland African Congress

On behalf of the BASUTOLAND AFRICAN CONGRESS, the President, NTSU MOKHEHLE, released a statement opposing the incorporation of Basutoland in the Union of South Africa, and pointing out that:-

"Since such handing over of Basutoland (by the British Government) seems to depend more on some consultation rather than on any legal agreement or consent of the inhabitants, . . . and since the results of this consultation may bear no weight upon the final decision of whether Basutoland shall be incorporated within the Union of South Africa or not; and whereas the South African Governments have from time to time since 1910, and in accordance with the said British Government's promises demanded the transfer of the Government of Basutoland to the Union of South Africa:

"We, the members of the Basutoland African Congress, declare and do strongly hold, even as Moshoeshoe and the Basotho of old have correctly maintained - in the words of the Rev. Mr. Daniel, who wrote to Woodhouse in 1867-8, assuring Woodhouse that 'incorporation within Natal would be contrary to the wishes of every Mosotho' and even as Woodhouse also declared and satisfied the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time that 'annexation of Basutoland to Natal would not only be impossible and impolitic, but also repugnant to the wishes of the Basuto Nation', that the incorporation of Basutoland within the Union of South Africa would both be impolitic and repugnant to the best wishes of every Mosotho. We believe, we hold and we demand that Basutoland must never, at any time in the present, in the future, as it has not been in the past, be incorporated within the Union of South Africa, except by consent of a two thirds majority of the Basotho."

The Congress draws attention to the fact that the Basotho are not a conquered nation, that they asked for protection from Britain and not for annexation, that they have always upheld their allegiance to the British Crown in peace and in war, and that in World War I and II "Basotho participated as a national unit distinct from the Union of South Africa as a further indication of their unwillingness to have anything common with the Union."

"Britain had neither any moral, any political nor any legal right nor excuse to discuss and to make promises about the land of the Basotho without their knowledge and their consent - as it were, behind their backs - that Britain has done so has been a great breach of moral, political and legal faith on her part," the statement continues. The policies of the Union Government are strongly opposed - "We oppose Apartheid in all its implications which in a nutshell mean the modern enslavement of the Africans in South Africa - Africans to be slaves whose existence shall only be tolerated as long as it serves and promotes the interests of the white people of South Africa", and the Congress calls for self-government now.

"The Basotho, who in fact own the land have, through the National Council, been reduced to mere advisors on vital matters that fundamentally affect their own political, social, economic and educational welfare. The Basotho pay taxes but they can only be

advisors as to how and in what manner their taxes have to be spent. . . In this system of indirect dictatorship, the Paramount Chief's role, together with the whole hierarchy of chiefs below, is to implement the usually threatening instructions of the Government officials. . . This rule we reject because we in the same manner as Moshoeshoe and the Basotho of old, only need England to protect and guide us while we handle and shape our own national destiny. We reject this rule because it does not agree with the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government of developing her dependent peoples into self-governing and autonomous units of a whole - the Commonwealth - and we oppose it as undemocratic.

"We of the Basutoland African Congress, therefore, without a desire to create any impression whatsoever that the Basotho desire, or have intentions of any sort to break away from the British Government, do demand self-government in Basutoland by the Basotho NOW." The Congress demands that power be transferred to the Basutoland National Council which should legislate on all matters concerning central administration, education, commerce, industry, state finances, and land tenure. Other demands include that of the removal of all discriminatory laws and practices - on grounds of colour. "We are satisfied that discrimination based on colour is only an indulgence of the British officials abroad - it is radically different from what the British people whom they represent stand for."

C. CENTRAL AFRICA

i. The University

The British Government have provisionally agreed to make a grant of £1,250,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare funds towards the establishment of a University College at Salisbury, Rhodesia, at which university education will be provided for students of all races. (*The Times*, September 40 1953)

2. Policies of Political Parties

Defining its policy of partnership, the FEDERAL PARTY declares: "Partnership, in our opinion, does not mean equality between Europeans and the broad masses of the Native population. It means, however, that the door to political advancement is not locked in the face of those Africans who may be able to conform to civilised standards and who give evidence of a sense of responsibility. Partnership is Rhodes's dictum of equal rights for civilised men, and means that you distinguish not on the ground of colour, but as between civilised and uncivilised people."

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS, speaking in Bulawayo recently, said one of the tasks confronting the Federal Government would be to increase immigration. "Broadly speaking, the policy of the Federal Party will be to get as many Europeans into the area as possible bearing in mind that we must not overdo it and cause any setback by the conditions created. We have had a bit of breathing space in Southern Rhodesia and we must very nearly have reached a point when we can relax again very considerably; but immigration will always have to be selective, owing to the multi-racial society and to the fact that we do not want to fill the country with agitators." (*The Times* October 7, 1953)

Commenting on the FEDERAL PARTY'S definition of partnership, DR. ALEXANDER SCOTT one of the leaders of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY, said in a letter to *The Central African Post* (September 4, 1953); "No one could take exception to the first article in the definition, which stresses the desirability of harmony between the races. But the second article is an assumption which is false. People who 'realise' that Europeans and Africans have distinctive and complementary parts to play in the Federation are inventing a situation which does not exist. Why should they have distinctive parts to play? Is it because of the difference in colour? There may be differences in ability between the two races at the present time, but such differences will eventually disappear. Africans will play the same part as Europeans in increasing numbers."

"The third article is a complete misrepresentation of the facts. Africans do not desire to develop on traditional lines. They desire intensely to acquire European education, to behave like Europeans and to think along European lines. Why, if they desire to develop along traditional lines, do they become scholars or clerks, printers or medical students? Only a certain number of Africans who remain in their villages want to retain their old habits and customs and beliefs, but these are chiefly women."

"If this is a clear statement of the Federal Party's policy, then all one can say is that it is not the partnership which Africans believed they were getting under the Federation, a partnership which Europeans could easily concede without loss of opportunities for themselves."

The Times (September 26, 1953) commenting editorially, on the aims of the CONFEDERATE PARTY said: "Their statement of policy proposes to 'guarantee a permanent white civilization' by working for the ultimate creation of separate native states within and controlled by the federation, by giving full encouragement to native development within these areas, and by removing native voters to a separate roll. Ingenious interpretation stretches the word 'partnership' to cover this programme, but the clause 'it must be partnership between the races and not between individual members of those races' should suffice to reveal the complete contradiction of the notion of partnership as it was put to Parliament. The Confederate Party then, approaches the polls with a policy essentially against the real principles underlying federation. The federal Constitution was set before Africans as a charter of their liberties, secured on the word of the British Parliament and people. If the Confederate Party should win the election, or gain so many seats as will make them look like an alternative Government, a heavy blow will have been struck at African faith in British sincerity."

3. Central African Asian Conference

This Conference which represented all sections of the Asian Community in the three Central African territories, was held at Bulawayo on August 26-27, 1953. Among the resolutions passed was one stating that "as the Asians are already citizens of the territories which are about to join the Federation of Central Africa (they) should as a matter of law and as a matter of their constitutional status automatically become citizens of the Federation. . . and occupy the position of complete equality in the political, economic and social functions of the Federal state."

Conference resolved that the position of the Asians under the Federal Government must be defined, and after deplored the action on the part of the United Kingdom Government in imposing Federation against the wishes of the majority of the populations, recommended that "since Federation of these three territories has now become a reality it is the duty of the members of the Asian community to cooperate with and strive for the success of the Federal scheme. . . believing at the same time that the success of Federation will depend on the attitude and policy that the Federal Government adopts towards all the citizens and inhabitants of the three territories."

Conference recommended that the Asian citizens of Central Africa should take immediate steps to convene an inter racial conference in each of the three territories "with a view to facilitating better understanding and restoring mutual confidence and respect between the members of the various races."

In calling upon the Federal Government and the territorial governments to do everything necessary to abolish the colour bar, they deplored the racial discrimination existing in Central Africa that is practised publicly and privately in the political, economic and social spheres." A resolution expressing the opinion that more immigrants were needed for future development, added that "the immigration policy of the federal state should be based on the merits of the immigrants and not on their race, colour or creed."

In the course of his speech during the conference, SRI APA PANT (Commissioner for the Government of India in East and Central Africa) said: "In Africa, as you are developing,

you will have realised that the task is not only one of developing wells, finding minerals and establishing industries. That is easy; modern technological knowledge is adequate to create mines even in the midst of deserts, to tame the waters of the most powerful rivers, to cross the mountains and the forests. Modern technology is fully capable of doing these things, but it is not going to help you in the building up of a new society. For that you require humanity, you require a large heart and you require a belief in God - one God not a black God or a white God or a brown God but one God. And so, if I may say so, the real task besides, of course, carrying on your businesses and having free facilities to do so, is the creation of one society. I think that where you have many races, many religions, many cultures, you ought to direct your energies towards the building up of a truly well-integrated, democratic, multi-racial society.

"I am very happy that at this critical stage in the development of these great areas you have people like Sir Godfrey Huggins with you to direct your destinies. I believe that you, my Indian friends, can play a very important part in this development. By your actions, by your thoughts, by your speech, you must indicate to and convince others that you stand for such a multi-racial democratic society. Why do we speak about this multi-racial society? The answer is this: without it there can be no peace in territories like these. We have had experience in many other parts of Africa of what happens when a country takes the other road; we know that that other road leads to self-destruction. Without peace, of course, there can be no prosperity. . . .

"The British people have developed an admirable system of political, social and economic life. They have given a great deal to the world. We ourselves in India have received a great deal from them. We are very proud of it, because when a thing is good it does not only belong to a particular people; it belongs to everyone. Take Shakespeare or Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi. They do not belong to one nation or to one country or to one person but to the whole world, because their ideas are good, their ideas take us towards a better realisation of life of divine personality. . . ."

Amongst the messages read out was one from the Africa Bureau in London: "The Asian Community in Central Africa has an important role to play in the building up of a multi-racial social order there, and this is one of the most urgent tasks of our time in Africa. No constitution which fails to make proper provision for the Asian Community can claim to be based on the principle of partnership between the races. Developments in Central Africa, if they are not to follow the same tragic pattern as in the Union of South Africa, will require the full expression of alert and enlightened opinion by people of all races, and we regard it as one of our aims in Britain, as well as of your Conferences, to secure this."

4. Nyasaland

London Comment on the Recent Disturbances

The Manchester Guardian (August 28, 1953) under the heading "Storm in a Tea Garden" quoted cables from Nyasaland Africans received by the Africa Bureau (mentioned in Digest No. 10) and commented in their editorial: "These may be incomplete or partisan accounts but they go to confirm that the trouble is local in origin and, what is quite plausible, that it springs from a disagreement about ownership of some land. There had in recent years been an appreciable extension of tea plantations in this district, and misunderstandings might easily arise. . . . As Kenya's experience shows, a relatively small grievance, left to rankle, grows in the imaginative memory like the grain of mustard seed in the parable."

The Daily Telegraph (August 29 1953) in editorial comment spoke of the tension in Nyasaland running high, and said: "The prime cause of this tension is the continuing African opposition to Central African federation. . . . The opposition springs entirely from the fantastic manner in which the scheme was launched, with authority glumly silent and agitators busily disseminating lies and threats. This nerveless policy cost us the African's confidence, to regain it will not be easy. Until it is regained, the situation

in Nyasaland will continue to be dangerous; a spark like the last week's disorders might easily set off a general conflagration. To recover the lost ground will call for patience and firmness, for exhaustive explanation of all we are about and, above all, for practical demonstration of our bona fides."

Two articles in *The Sunday Times* (September 6 & 13, 1953) by DUDLEY HAWKINS, their representative in Kenya who visited Nyasaland, were headed "Nyasaland's Opposition Threatens Federation" and "African Fears Block Path of Federation". "Nyasaland, the African Cinderella of the Colonial Office, will pose to the first Parliament of the Central African Federation a series of problems which might well defeat the purposes and ideals of federation." wrote Mr. Hawkins. "A tour of this junior partner of Northern and Southern Rhodesia has convinced me that, from the rich tea-growing areas of the south, through the tobacco lands of the central province, to the north of the Protectorate, the African population is stubbornly opposed to federation. . . . Not long ago the relationship between African and European was probably the best anywhere in Africa. Today it is strained. The issue of federation has changed it from a relationship of employer and employed, of administration and administered, to one of white and black."

Referring to the Nyasaland African Congress the article continues; "The common ground lies, not between the African Congress and Mau Mau itself but between Congress and the now proscribed Kenya African Union, which was led by Jomo Kenyatta. And there lies the danger. The battle for the souls of the Native Authorities is relentless. In areas where a District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner has a dominating personality, opposition to Federation is likely to be comparatively weak...Congress agents tell the Africans Federation means that hordes of *wazungu* (white men) from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia will swarm into Nyasaland. They will establish large farms on land where peasants now grow tobacco and maize. Africans will be herded into reserves, will need passes to move from one village to another, and the only land they will be able to cultivate for their own use will be the mountains'.

"Adding strength to this propaganda is antipathy to the Europeans from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa employed by contractors as foremen on construction work or in banks and shops. Their attitude to the African is very dissimilar from that of the English or Scottish settlers, and so there has grown the feeling in the mind of the Nyasaland native that any further influx of Europeans from the south must be opposed."

COLIN LEGUM writing from Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia in *The Observer* (September 13, 1953) said; "It is now clear that no real solution of the problem is possible in Southern Nyasaland unless the relations between tenants and plantation owners are put right. And the only real solution will be the abolition of the tenant system and reorganization of the country's agricultural labour on a basis other than that of a 'feudal barony'".

The Spectator (September 4, 1953) remarked that it is significant that "these incidents have occurred in the areas where white settlers are most numerous and where many Africans are installed as squatters on European estates. The pattern is familiar; economic hardships and the break-up of traditional society leading to sporadic outbreaks of violence and confused political unrest - aggravated by the controversy over Federation. This is what happened in Kenya before Mau Mau and what will happen in other territories unless positive steps are taken to deal with the problems created by the disruption of African society and the impact of white settlement."

Nyasaland Chiefs' Union

At the third Nyasaland Chiefs' Union held at Lilongwe, on September (11 & 12), 1953, the following resolutions were passed and circulated by Chief MWASE:-

1. That it be recorded that Nyasaland Chiefs, Congress and People are still opposed to the Central African Federation although it has been imposed against their wishes;

2. That this Conference advises the Supreme Council to withdraw the Orders of Non-Cooperation with the Government with a view to restoring confidence between Chiefs and Government;
 3. That Government be requested to withdraw all local armed police and that all foreign police forces be returned to their respective territories. Further that shooting be discontinued against innocent people and that compensation be given to the families of those who have lost their lives as a result of police shooting; and those responsible for such unauthorised shooting to kill be dealt with according to law.
 4. That this Conference asks Government to compensate all people whose hut doors, houses and property have been destroyed by police, and that all hoes, axes, etc., taken from them be returned to them forthwith and that the burning of African houses by police be discontinued and those burnt be reconstructed at the expense of Government;
 5. That Government discontinues entirely the use of European 'Special Constables' who are untrained and undisciplined to deal with disturbances and are not free from the present political controversy. This practice destroys race relationships in the Protectorate as by doing so, the Government sets up one race against another and thus endangers the immediate peaceful solution of the troubles;
 6. The Conference having recalled the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Houses of Commons in which he expressed regret on behalf of the Governor of Nyasaland for his anticipation in making an early announcement on the favourable decision of the British Parliament on Federation which subsequently led Chief Gomani to the action he took in protest against the imposition of Federation, resolved: that Chief Gomani and all those who have resigned their Native Authorityships as a weapon against the imposition of Federation should be reinstated in their original positions immediately and thus build up confidence between Chiefs and Government and heal the previous wounds caused during struggle against Federation.
 7. (a) That all Village Headmen, people and Congress leaders who have been imprisoned as a result of resisting federation as from May 1953 to date be released;
(b) That all civil servants who have been dismissed from their service as a result of assisting Chiefs and their people to resist federation should be called back to their respective posts should they be willing to do so;
 8. That constitutional reforms on local and Central Government be immediately made and that the proposed District Council Bill be implemented at once without delay with the necessary suggestions made in our Memorandum.
- Resolved:**
9. That the Thangata system (which is the tenant rent-paying system) be abolished and Government should acquire all the undeveloped land now lying idle on the European Estates in the Protectorate immediately, and hand it back to the African people as African Trust land on which they can settle with their families without trouble from European planters and thus abolish the tenant system.
 10. That an Impartial Judicial Commission of Inquiry be appointed at once to enquire into the causes of disturbances in Southern Province and into the land question so that there should be settlement of the present problems;
 11. That a deputation of Chiefs and Congress interview the Governor as soon as possible to discuss Constitutional Reforms and these resolutions.
 12. That this Conference having read from the 'Nyasaland Times' dated 6 September 1953 of the formation of the so-called 'Nyasaland African Progressive Association', draws the attention of the Government to the African Civil Service and Colonial Regulations prohibiting Civil Servants from indulging in political activities and thus calls upon the Government to stop African Civil Servants from forming and organising political parties. By allowing

certain favoured civil servants to participate in political activities while prohibiting and dismissing others, Government would appear to be partial and thus create a feeling of distrust among the Africans and if this practice is continued it may give rise to serious consequences and dissatisfaction among other members of the Civil Service;

13. That this Conference declares that it has no confidence in Messrs. C.J. Matinga, A.J. Mponda (Blantyre), E.D. Siska, (Chiradzulo Hospital) and Orton E. Chirwa, B.A. (Jeanes Training Centre, Domasi) for having misled their Chiefs and people in that they have refrained from advising chiefs at a critical period while they were the people who advised them to reject federation 'at all costs';

14. That this Conference has therefore no confidence in the so-called Nyasaland African Progressive Association led by the people mentioned in 13 above and hereby warn all our Chiefs and people;

15. That the Nyasaland Chiefs' Union accepts the Nyasaland African Congress as the only African political body which is recognised by the Government, and therefore calls upon all the Chiefs and people in the Protectorate to support Congress and seek its advice in all matters concerning the development of this country;

16. That this Conference advises Chiefs and people to attend District, Provincial, Protectorate and Legislative Councils and resume all their court and administrative duties which they were doing before;

17. That 27 September be observed as a day of National Prayer by all Nyasaland people here and abroad, for all those who have suffered and have been killed as a result of resistance against Federation;

18. That the Chiefs' Organisation shall henceforth be known as the 'Nyasaland Chiefs' Union' and a Constitution shall be drawn accordingly.

**PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS SUBMITTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY
THE GOVERNOR, BY THE CHIEFS, AFRICAN CONGRESS AND
PEOPLE OF NYASALAND PROTECTORATE**

African Representation on Legislative Council

We believe that the time has now come for increased representation of Africans in the Legislative Council, some other Councils, Committees and Boards. The additional member recently announced from the Central Province to the Legislative Council does not satisfy the African people of this Protectorate. It is too inadequate for any effective representation of the 2,350,000 Africans who rightly claim that the Government should grant them more members in the Legislative Council.

In view of the fact that Europeans who number 4,000 have unofficial membership in the Legislative Council of five and Africans have only three, the Africans ask the Government to increase their membership to the same number as that of the Europeans and Asians put together. The Africans should like to see:

4 African Members from the Southern, 3 from the Central and 3 from the Northern Province. This will give Africans 10 members in the Legislative Council and we propose that the European, including Indian, membership also be increased to 10 on the Uganda Protectorate model, thus bringing about the policy of African equal representation with immigrant races in the Protectorate.

African Representation on the Executive Council

On the Governor's Executive Council a similar demand is made, and that is, that the

number of European and African unofficial members be the same number. African members to the Executive Council should be selected by the African members of the Legislative Council. Accordingly, we ask that the African membership on the Executive Council should be two in equality with European membership.

Method of Election

We entirely reject the method of nomination of members of both Councils, Committees and Boards by the Governor. We ask for the FRANCHISE to be granted forthwith and without delay. Our fellow Africans in Tanganyika may soon enjoy the right to vote, and on a small scale, a similar position obtained in Southern Rhodesia. In the Gold Coast the Africans have the Franchise and even the Cape of Good Hope granted Africans the right to vote as long ago as 1854. It is unreasonable that the British Government in 1953 should fail to grant her Protected Persons the right to vote freely for members of the Legislature.

We ask therefore that all Africans over the age of 21, should be granted the franchise provided they possess one of the following qualifications:-

- (a) provided they have passed standard four and can read and write their names, addresses and occupation;
- (b) do. are chiefs and headmen of their people;
- (c) do. hold a position of influence due to their wealth or status in the Community, such as businessmen, craftsmen, and so on.

All these should have the right to elect members to the District, Provincial and Legislative Councils as well as Executive Council provided they pay Hut and Poll Taxes to the Government.

Provincial Council

Membership of the Provincial Councils should be by election through the Africans of the Province. All Chiefs should be ex-officio members of the Provincial Councils in the Province. The number of Commoners on the Provincial Council should be equal to that of the Chiefs. The Chairman should be an African elected by members of the Council themselves. We reject the Chairmanship of the District and Provincial Commissioners which has the effect of hampering free and unfettered discussions by African members of the Councils.

District Councils

Membership of the District Council should be elective. All members of the District with requisite qualifications should have the right to vote. All Chiefs of the District shall be ex-officio members of the District Council. The number of Commoners in the District Council shall be equal to that of the Chiefs in the District. The Council shall elect its own Chairman who shall be an African. We categorically reject the Chairmanship of the District Commissioner which has the effect of hampering free and unfettered discussions by the African members.

We accept the proposed District Councils Bill' but we do not approve of the Chairmanships of the District Commissioners. The Chairman of the Councils should be Africans elected by members of the Councils. We have sufficient evidence to prove that there are capable Africans who can preside at the meetings of such councils. The Council should also be responsible for the dismissal of its members

Dissolution of Present Council

We ask that the present Legislative Council be dissolved before the end of this year and that a new Council be set up based on the proposed Franchise, which will be representative of the African people. In our view, the increased African membership will enable

the representatives to meet and discuss problems with their constituencies and thus bring the views of the Africans to the Council in a true and honest manner. The present African members of the Legislative Council cannot adequately visit the people in the country owing to their very insignificant number and no sufficient reflection of African view point can be given unless the number is increased.

African Representation on the Town Councils

The number of African representation on the Town Councils of Limbe and Blantyre should be equal to that of Europeans and the membership be elected by the African people themselves. We reject the Urban Advisory Committee, whose abolition we forthwith demand. In other African territories Africans have already acquired membership on Municipal Councils.

We hope the Government will accept these reasonable proposals in order to win back the confidence of the African people which it has greatly lost due to lack of respect for the views of the Africans. We believe that no true racial harmony can be entertained in this country as long as the Government maintains the theory of the Supremacy of the White man and his perpetual domination over the African. We reject this theory in toto and put before the Government our unflinching belief in the equality of all races as a basis of practical partnership A new attitude is required from the Government in order to satisfy the Africans of its good intentions.

5. Northern Rhodesia

Constitutional Discussions

SIR ROY WELENSKY, on his return to Northern Rhodesia said that the constitutional reforms proposed by the Colonial Office for the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council were unacceptable.

The Times (September 23, 1953) in a leading article said: "The terms, however, which MR. LYTTELTON has decided he must dictate hardly seem likely to allay the African sense of grievance. The Europeans get their main wish, an increase of their elected members from ten to twelve. Numerically, this is balanced by the concession of two additional seats to Africans, with some hope of soon appointing another African as one of the two nominated unofficials who are intended to protect their interests. Since this at least doubles their representation, they might be held to gain proportionately more than the Europeans. But at the same time one of the official members - whom they regard as their friends - is likely to disappear, because most of his functions, as Economic Secretary, will be taken over by the Federation. Moreover, the progressive contraction of the domain of territorial government will reduce the number of portfolios to be held by the members of the Executive Council, who, it is contemplated, shall all have these ministerial responsibilities and form, so to speak, a Government front bench in the Legislature'. Though it is proposed that one group of departments shall be entrusted to the member representing African interests, the effect of the changes is to reduce the number of official members to five.... The declared goal of complete emancipation cannot be reached until the two races come to regard one another as parts of a single community; and of that there is little sign. Rather do the circumstances of yesterday's breakdown accentuate the African sense of a permanent conflict of interests with the Europeans; and as new settlers continue to arrive in the Copper Belt, the estrangement grows worse rather than better."

MR. YAMBA and MR. SOKOTA, the two African members of the N. Rhodesia Legislative Council, told the press before they left London.... "We cannot in the name of our people accept the decisions of the Secretary of State as they represent a further extension of political power to the Settlers in the Territorial Legislature and do not go even half way to meet the view presented by us. During the past few years we have seen that the pressure from the Settlers in Central Africa is growing stronger and stronger and its effect is greater than that of either the British public or African opinion on Her Majesty's Government. Furthermore, those Settlers are backed up by the Colonial Office and officials on the spot."

African National Congress

The following are the members of the new executive of the African National Congress:
H.M. NKUMBULA President General (re-elected); ROBINSON C. PUTA Vice-President General;
KENNETH D. KAUNDA General Secretary, DIXON KONKOLA Vice General Secretary; PASCALE SOKOTA
M.L.C. General Treasurer, JOB MAYANDA Vice General Treasurer.

MR. PUTA is Vice President of the African Mineworkers Union and of the African T.U.C.,
and MR. KAUNDA was organising secretary of the Congress in the Northern Province.

D. EAST AFRICA

I. Kenya

Principles Enunciated by Kenya's European Electors' Union

The following nine principles of policy have been laid down by the Kenya European Electors' Union:

- (1) To build a strong and prosperous State which will be a bulwark of the Commonwealth in British Africa, maintaining British traditions of loyalty to the Crown, justice and freedom.
- (2) To promote and maintain the Christian ethic.
- (3) To develop opportunities for all loyal subjects, irrespective of race, to advance in accordance with character and ability.
- (4) To maintain and encourage private enterprise unless it conflicts with the security of the State or threatens the proper development of its resources.
- (5) To promote a sense of security for all races, and in particular to maintain the special rights of racial communities in those areas established for their respective use by treaty, ordinance or Order in-Council. Concurrently to develop areas of common opportunity.
- (6) To safeguard the proper interests of each race from exploitation by any other, and to promote racial harmony and friendliness.
- (7) To protect the direction of affairs in Kenya from the extremes of party political influence overseas.
- (8) To ensure that the direction of affairs in Kenya shall pass progressively to those resident locally.
- (9) To foster and develop friendly relations between our own and other territories of East and Central Africa with the ultimate object of federation. (EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, SEPTEMBER 3, 1953).

African Leader on Mission to U.K.

At a press conference held in London MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, formerly Secretary of the Kenya African Union which was recently proscribed said; "The purpose of my visit is to secure help for a constructive solution of the difficulties in Kenya by economic, social and political changes." The following were among proposals which he believed of vital importance to bring conditions of peace and prosperity to Kenya and to restore a sense of security among the three races -

- (1) Release on bail of the political leaders, as suggested by Colonel Grogan, on the

basis of their cooperation in restoring peace, and discussion with the Colonial Office regarding essential reforms.

* (2) A round table conference of representatives of all races in Kenya with a view to acceptance of a programme of political, social and economic reforms. This programme should include:-

(3) The development of land in the African reserves to the fullest capacity.

(4) Making available to Africans land in the Highlands not yet sold to Europeans. The proposal for farming on one territory by two races has a precedent in Southern Rhodesia. To prevent misuse of land, I suggest that African farmers would be required to conform to strict farming practices under the direction of a community and co-operative organization and that leases for such land should be on a temporary basis until the African farmer has proved himself efficient. During this period he should be subject to eviction if his farming did not reach the required standard.

(5) Community projects, co-operative farming, and rural industries should be introduced in the reserves, and technical and financial help welcomed from the United Nations, British, American, Indian or other sources.

(6) The principle of parity should be adopted in representation in the Executive and Legislative Councils of Kenya.

(7) Political democracy should also be applied to local government.

(8) The progressive elimination of the colour bar.

(9) The encouragement of the co-operation of educated and politically minded Africans in all schemes of political, economic and social developments.

In conclusion MR. MURUMBI said, 'I hope to have the opportunity in Britain to put these proposals to political, co-operative and trade union representatives and to religious leaders with a view to securing their aid. Following my stay here I intend to visit America to invite technical and financial help for social and economic projects from organisations interested in assisting undeveloped territories. I would be prepared to return to Kenya at any time if the Colonial Office or the Governor indicated that I could be of help in the realization of these objects. (Fast Africa & Rhodesia, October 1, 1953)

2. Tanganyika

In a pastoral letter signed by two Archbishops, 13 Bishops and two Prefects Apostolic, the Catholic Hierarchy of Tanganyika denounces racial discrimination as an offence against God. Racial arrogance springs from a lack of human kindness and Christian charity, says the letter, and is particularly harmful where members of different races live side by side.

Entitled 'Africans and the Christian Way of Life' it is offered to the people "as a token of the deepest interest which the Church is taking in the desire of the African people to co-operate in moulding their country into a nation of free men."

The letter described as "one of the most shameful crimes any government can commit" the toleration of "a state of affairs whereby a few live in luxury alongside the many whom they exploit and condemn to want. We shall pray and work with you to prevent Tanganyika falling victim to this social plague."

It adds that the Catholic Church looks favourably upon the struggle of the African people to achieve a greater share in the direction of their country as also in the Church. (Peace News September 4, 1953).

Opinion of the Kenya Indian Congress

The Standing Committee of the KENYA INDIAN CONGRESS met on September 27, 1953 and considered the resolutions passed by the European Electors' Union. The Committee expressed the opinion that the nine principles "are vague in their character and scope, and largely platitudinous in expression. They fall far short of the essential requirements of the country and fail to take into effective account the culture and capabilities of the Asians and the progress made by the Africans in all walks of life and their legitimate aspirations as to the part they must play in moulding the future of the country. For these reasons the said principles have utterly failed to inspire confidence of the non-European peoples in the intentions of the Europeans.

"Furthermore, the proceedings of the Electors' Union conclusively demonstrate that the European representatives debated the problems before them with an eye to the needs, requirements and the security of the European community alone.... Which proves the contention of the non-Europeans that transfer of power to the hands of the European community in this country will be against the best interests of other races and that no such power should or could be transferred unless the same is received jointly by all the races, under a constitution acceptable to all."

The Congress advocated the following steps to be taken immediately "to create conditions and promote an atmosphere in which all races could work together for the attainment of common objectives:

1. The strong feeling of grievance which prevails among Africans, particularly the Kikuyu, about land, and which influences large numbers of them in their general attitude towards other problems, should be remedied quickly.
2. The African should be given a sense of feeling that he will have all the necessary encouragement to progress in all walks of life.
3. An immediate declaration of an authoritative character should be made to ensure the due attainment of the above objectives, with emphasis on ability and character and merits, and not on race or colour which hitherto has formed the basis of policy.
4. Racial discrimination and colour bar should be completely removed from all employment under the State; and the rights of access to all public licensed places should be sanctioned and guaranteed by legislation without delay.
5. The educational system of the country should be changed as early as possible from its racial compartments to schools open to all races but divided on the basis of high, moderate and nominal tuition fees.
6. A pronouncement should be made that in the next constitutional set-up, constitutions of the Legislative and Municipal bodies will provide for the return of representatives on a limited scale by a common electorate of all races, based on a qualified franchise, with reservation of an equal number of seats for each race, as a first step in the right direction.
7. The Congress reiterates once more its unmitigated opposition to the idea of any political or commercial alliance of Kenya with the Central African Federation."

Anti-Federation League Refused Registration

The Anti-Federation League, an inter-racial organisation which was formed to co-ordinate opposition against the imposition of Federation on the three East African territories, has been refused Registration, reports *The Daily Chronicle* of Nairobi (October 11, 1953). The Registrar of Societies stated in his letter to the Secretary of the League which was formed over a year ago, that he had refused to register the society because it appeared to him that it was "likely to be used for purposes prejudicial to, or incompatible with peace, welfare

or good order in the Colony." At the time when the League was banned the Chairman was the Hon. John Tamuno, M.L.C. The League did not function for over 10 months, and prior to its application for registration its activities were confined to some 5 or 6 committee meetings."

E. WEST AFRICA

I. Nigeria

THE NIGERIAN CONSTITUTION - Report by the London Conference

The Conference was called firstly to discuss defects in the present Constitution and the best way of putting into operation remedies for these defects and secondly to explore the question of self-government in 1956.

The Report (Government White Paper Cmd 8934) states: "All delegations at the Conference considered that the Regional Governments should, in the sphere of activities assigned to them, be more independent of the Central Government, and hence that Regional legislation should not have to be submitted to the Central Executive." Among the proposed specific functions to be assigned to the Central Government are immigration, defence, compulsory acquisition of land for central purposes and control over existing educational institutions financed out of central funds. The concurrent list of subjects with which both the Central and Regional Governments would be competent to deal includes higher educational institutions not already exclusively under the control of the Central Government, agricultural and medical research and industrial development. The Central legislation would prevail in cases of conflict. It is proposed that all residual functions should be vested in the Regional Governments. Only the National Independence Party delegates did not endorse these proposals.

On the question of self government by 1956 the report states: "The Conference eventually accepted a declaration of policy that in 1956 Her Majesty's Government would grant to those Regions which desired it full self government in respect of all matters within the competence of the Regional Governments, with the proviso that there should be safeguards to ensure that the Regional Governments did not act so as to impede or prejudice the exercise by the Federal Government of the functions assigned to it now, or as amended by agreement in the future, or in any way make the continuance of federation impossible."

The position of Lagos

The Secretary of State for the Colonies in a statement (Cmd 8934 Annex V) said: "Lagos is not only the political capital of Nigeria, but also the commercial capital. Above all, it is the biggest port of Nigeria and the port which handles a great part of the traffic with the Northern Region. That being so, I do not feel that a move of the political capital would solve the problem with which we are faced or serve to set at rest the anxieties which the inclusion of Legos within the Western Region under the present Constitution has caused to those who see in it not only the Federal capital of Nigeria but also their principal commercial life line to the outside world.... Therefore while Her Majesty's Government understand very well the feeling of the Action Group delegation, they have nevertheless felt bound to decide that, in the wider interests of Nigeria as a whole, Lagos should remain the Federal capital of Nigeria and that the municipal area of Lagos should become Federal territory and should be directly under the Federal Government."

The Manchester Guardian (August 22, 1953) commenting on MR. AWOLOWO'S reaction to MR. LYTTELTON'S statement says: "MR. AWOLOWO, the leader of the Action Group delegation, said that if it was insisted that Lagos should become the federal capital and federal territory, then his party, which controls Western Nigeria, would prefer to secede from the Nigerian federation. 'If unity means cutting off our head, we are going to stand alone,' he said.... The principal objection of the Western Region to this is that the revenue derived from Lagos would be lost to the Western Region. Commenting on a memorandum issued

by the Action Group opposing the British decision on Lagos, *The Manchester Guardian* (September 5, 1953) said: "It reports uncompromising opposition in the region to the proposal and talks again of the danger to Nigerian unity if the decision is not modified when the conference assembles in Nigeria. The memorandum points out that under the new Constitution control of harbours will in any case be a federal subject, and suggests that two federal enclaves should be created in the harbour districts."

In an editorial *West Africa* (September 12, 1953) says: "MR. LYTTELTON appears, from his statement, to have attached little importance to the point of view either of the Lagos citizens who claim that the special status of Lagos dating back to the last century should be maintained, or of those inside and outside Lagos, who take the view that 'every person in Nigeria has the right to consider Lagos as a place which he should be proud of whether he is living there or not'; or of those who say that because so much federal money has been and will be spent in Lagos it should be federal territory.... MR. LYTTELTON, however, chose to limit his arguments to those concerning Lagos as a 'life-line' for the North. MR. AWOLOWO we consider has an effective reply to those arguments. It is, he says, Apapa port through which alone, and not Lagos itself, goods are assigned to the North. Harbours are and will remain a central subject under the control of the central government in which the North's population gives it such a powerful voice. But the Action Group is prepared to declare Apapa (with the residential area of Ikoyi, where live so many of the foreigners who work in Lagos) federal territory. It guarantees in any case, that 'under no circumstances will the people of the Western Region deny to the Northern Region access to the sea.'..... MR. LYTTELTON was put in a difficult position by the conference, which asked him to make an award on Lagos, and by the request showed its confidence in him. But at a time when Nigeria is undergoing so many changes there should be, we feel, a prejudice in favour of leaving things alone whenever possible and for as long as possible; and at a conference which was marked by compromise a decision so uncompromising, and so certain to provoke the strongest hostility of the Action Group seemed out of place."

F. GENERAL

I. Moral Rearmament

An international team of Moral Rearmament together with the founder of the movement, DR. FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN, have been invited to visit South Africa by the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Assembly and the Administrators of the Cape, Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State and South West Africa. (South Africa, September 19, 1953).

2. African Railway Project

A syndicate of City financiers has taken up the scheme to link the Rhodesias by rail to the West Coast of Africa through Commonwealth territory. An aero-photographic survey has been completed and the planning of financing and construction is well advanced.... The first object of the railway will be to ship high-grade coal and mining concentrates to the sea. But there are two other important considerations. One is strategic. Britain's chrome supplies from Africa at present must come by a route which proved highly vulnerable in the last war....

The other consideration is the agricultural potential of the Central African plain, which, contrary to the general impression of this region in the public imagination is anything but a desert. A spokesman for the Southern Rhodesian Government in London said this week that Northern Bechuanaland although almost uninhabited, is highly fertile and virtually undeveloped. There are good water supplies and ample vegetation.... The railway syndicate are basing a number of long range plans on the potentialities of this central area. They point out that their route goes up to water, i.e. to the Okavango River, one of the greatest in Africa, although little known. Some idea of its importance can be judged from the fact that its width at the point where the railway will have to cross it is more than 1,200 feet. At present its waters are pretty well going to waste.

A spokesman for the Colonial Development Corporation said this week that while they have no connection with the railway project they would regard it as a great asset to their own lands. The C.D.C. has taken a long-term lease on 9,000 square miles of Crown land in Northern Bechuanaland. Some 30,000 head of cattle had been brought in by the end of last December and the objective is to raise this to 70,000 in about three more years. Altogether 300,000 acres are to be brought under cultivation for food and fodder crops.... Total investment by the C.D.C. was £600,000 when the last figures were published but is believed to be much more than that today." (*Manchester Guardian*, September 23, 1953).

G. ADDENDUM - CENTRAL AFRICA

Dissolution of the Progressive Party

The NORTHERN RHODESIA PROGRESSIVE PARTY, the most liberal minded of the three parties in the federal elections in December, was dissolved on October 15 because, in the words of the leader of the party, DR. ALEXANDER SCOTT, of the "grave fear that a split vote will allow the Confederates, with their policy of apartheid, to gain control of the new state." (*The Times*, October 17, 1953).